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ABSTRACT

The literature suggests that children steadily move away from egocentric thought and acquire more effective interpersonal skills as they age, but at puberty a new egocentrism makes self-disclosure difficult. To develop an adequate behavioral measure of self-disclosure, 16 situations were described to children aged 8, 11, and 14 years old, who then were asked to whom a friend would talk about these situations. Results showed, contrary to expectations, that amount of self-disclosure increased with age across all situations. The youngest two groups chose their mothers; the oldest group most often chose a friend as target for self-disclosure. Females chose to self-disclose more than males. The results emphasize the adolescent's need for trustworthy, empathic listeners. (Author/JAC)

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Developmental Patterns of Self-Disclosure

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Running head: Developmental Patterns of Self-Disclosure

Developmental Patterns of Self-Disclosure

Do patterns of self-disclosure change with age? Is there a developmental pattern of self-disclosure prior to adolescence? As defined by Jourard (1971), self-disclosure is "making oneself known to another." While Jourard and others have measured self-disclosure in adults and college students, measures of self-disclosure in children have been relatively rare. Therefore, Vondracek and Vondracek (1971) attempted to design a reliable measure of self-disclosure for preadolescents. They used a standard interview situation to compare the level (intimate vs. non-intimate) of self-disclosure elicited dependent on whether or not the interviewer self-disclosed to the subject. They found that interviewer self-disclosure was significant in determining amount of self-disclosure; more self-disclosure on the part of interviewer elicited more self-disclosure than did neutral non-disclosing statements. Vondracek and Vondracek (1971) felt that their study could be viewed "as a step toward the development of a satisfactory methodology for investigation of the developmental aspects of self-disclosure in children." However, they also said, without further explanation, that "their scoring system needed to be refined, and its' applicability to other types of subjects needed to be demonstrated."

Although there is no widely accepted measure of self-disclosure for children at present, three relevant patterns of child development:

interpersonal relations, egocentrism, and privacy experiences have been measured across age groups and are suggestive of self-disclosure patterns. The interpersonal relations of eight year olds were described by Gesell (1974) as follows - they are typically neither brooding nor introspective; they show strong admiration for parents and want a close communion, a psychological interchange, whereby they penetrate deeper into adult life. Gordon (1975) found that as children matured they were better able to express their own likes and dislikes - that while preadolescents of eleven and twelve still see their families as a central group, their major task is to sever close dependent relationships with parents and move out into the world of peers and other adults. Sullivan (1953) agreed and said that preadolescents solve this task by seeking and developing an intimate exchange with a chum, friend or a loved one. Benson and Libbenfield (1979) focused on adolescents and stated that they develop vested interests in emerging but increasingly sharply-bounded selves and resist penetration of their inner core. These views of interpersonal development suggest, then, that children will be more willing to self-disclose than adolescents.

Egocentrism, described by Looft (1972) as being imbedded in one's own point of view, is another much researched construct related to patterns of self-disclosure. Selman (1976) studied egocentrism as reflected in concepts about interpersonal relationships in childhood,

preadolescence, and adolescence. He used a semi-structured verbal interview procedure and had subjects resolve commonplace interpersonal dilemmas. He found that there was a shift from cooperation based on self-interest to collaboration based on shared feeling and mutual interest. In a continuation of that study, Selman and Selman (1979) found that eight year olds and eleven year olds can increasingly take the other's point of view. At about fourteen, however, they go beyond this and also take a generalized third person perspective. This new perspective, Elkind (1967) said, plunged the adolescent into a new type of egocentrism. He felt that the feeling of being under the constant scrutiny of others contributes to adolescents' wish for privacy and their reluctance to reveal themselves. Furthermore, it has been found that loneliness, the experience of emotional and social isolation(Weiss, 1979), occurs more frequently in adolescents than adults. (Rubin, 1979). This research, then, again suggests that children would be more willing to self-disclose than adolescents.

Another aspect of development which might influence self-disclosure is the need for privacy. Wolfe and Laurer (1977) found that privacy experiences are an important aspect of the socialization process and as such influence gender differences in self-disclosure. They conducted an interview study with 900 children and adolescents, ages 5-17, designed to gain an understanding of the concepts of privacy and its' relationship to age, sex, and other variables. They identified

an "information management" element of privacy from responses such as "Knowing something you don't want someone else to know or having secrets." Their study showed that "female children seem to be socialized to use information management as their primary privacy pattern - male children, on the other hand, are being socialized to view privacy in terms of autonomy and freedom of movement, to be less verbal and when verbal to be less expressive of their personal needs." This finding suggests that gender also affects patterns of self-disclosure.

In summary, then, the literature suggests that before puberty, the child is steadily moving away from egocentric thought and constantly acquiring more effective interpersonal skills. But at puberty, a new egocentrism emerges making self-disclosure difficult and new interpersonal relationships problematical. It also suggests that socialization affects self-disclosure patterns and males and females differ in their amount of verbal expression to others.

An investigation into these patterns was expected to shed greater light on the etiology of preadolescent and adolescent behavior, sex-role socialization and most specifically have implications for the elementary and secondary school counselors, the further study of loneliness and the increasing incidence of adolescent suicide. (Smith, 1979).

The present study was designed to develop an adequate behavioral measure of self-disclosure for children and adolescents and to test the hypotheses that:

1. adolescents are less willing to self-disclose than children
2. when they do self-disclose, adolescents will be more likely to self-disclose to peers than to a parent.
3. children of 8 years and 11 years, on the other hand, will be more likely to self-disclose to a parent.
4. gender will affect the amount of targets chosen for self-disclosure.

To test these hypotheses, eight, eleven and fourteen year olds were presented with sixteen problem situations and asked to indicate to whom a friend their age would talk about the problems. This strategy was based on the assumption that what they said their friend would do in the situation most likely reflected what they themselves would do. In this context, therefore, self-disclosure was operationally defined as a subject's verbal revelation about the predicted self-disclosure of a friend. Situations chosen were representative of home, school, personal relationships, and other outside social interaction. Variables affecting patterns of self-disclosure were expected to be age and sex. The measurement obtained was the frequency with which each age level and gender chose parents, friends, teachers, counselors and others as targets for self-disclosure.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were seventy-two children from a middle-class suburban section of Lexington, Kentucky. They were divided into three groups

of twenty-four each on the basis of age with equal numbers of males and females in each group. The age range and mean for each age were: 1st group - 8 years 0 months to 9 years 8 months, (M - 8 years 8 months); 2nd group - 10 years 11 months to 12 years 7 months, (M - 11 years 7 months); 3rd group - 13 years 9 months to 15 years 11 months, (M - 14 years 8 months). Subjects in the first two groups were students in a private Catholic elementary school and subjects in the third group were students in a private Catholic high school.

Apparatus and Procedure

Subjects were interviewed for approximately one-half hour. One male and one female experimenter interviewed an equal number of male and female subjects. The entire interview was tape recorded and later reviewed so that writing subject responses in detail would not interfere with the flow of the interview. Before the taping began, the experimenter chatted informally with the subjects, making an effort to put them at ease and assure them of confidentiality. When this orientation was completed, the taping began.

A self-disclosure measure was administered to each subject. This measure consisted of three practice situations and sixteen test situations which had been successfully used with twelve children in an earlier pilot study. Four of the situations dealt with home problems, four with school problems, four with interpersonal relationships, and four with social problems. After the presentation of each

problem, the children were asked to indicate the person or persons with whom their friends would most likely discuss the situation. The assumption was that what a friend would do would reflect what the child would do.

The target persons they could choose were displayed on 5 inch by 7 inch cards and placed on a table in clear view of the subject. The cards were labeled MOTHER, FATHER, NO ONE, TEACHER, COUNSELOR, FRIEND and OTHER. "Other" as a target was explained to the subjects as any person they would talk to about the situations other than their mother, father, friend, teacher, counselor or no one. Examples of "other" targets included grandparents, the school principal, a brother or sister.

After the children indicated a target person, they were encouraged to explain their choice and discuss the situation for as long as they wished. For example, a practice situation was presented as follows:

Interviewer: I am interested in knowing about boys and girls of your age. I would like to know who they talk to most often in different situations. For instance, if a friend of yours needed to talk over a problem he/she were having at school, he/she would probably talk to his mother, his father, his teacher, his guidance

counselor, one of his friends, or maybe no one. I am interested in knowing who you think he/she would be most likely to talk to in that situation. Now I am going to describe some situations and I would like you to tell me who, if anyone, a boy/girl your age would talk to about them. If you think your friend would in fact not tell anyone at all, please let me know that.

Situation: Your friend went to a scary movie and can't get the scary parts out of his/her head, he/she would talk to ...

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

When the sixteen situations were completed, subjects were asked the general question, "Do you think it's a good idea to talk over your problems with other people?" After the interview, a frequency count of which target persons were chosen in each situation was tabulated and analyzed across age levels and sex of subjects. The self-report on the value of self-disclosure was also recorded.

Results

The data yielded these results concerning choice of self-disclosure to target persons. The main effect for age of the ANOVA of number of targets chosen was significant, $F = 3.79$, $p < .0001$, indicating that as subjects increased in age they chose more targets for self-disclosure. Eight, eleven and fourteen year olds chose an average of 1.0, 1.3 and 1.6 people as targets per situation. Over 1/3 of the 8 year olds chose the target "no one" on four of the situations.

Insert Table 1 about here

The main effect of gender on the number of target persons chosen was also significant, $F = 3.45$, $p < .003$. This was primarily due to the fact that in 12 of the 16 situations more males than females indicated they would talk to "no one."

Insert Table 2 about here

A comparison of the target persons chosen by age yielded these results. As shown in Figure 1, the youngest group most often selected mother with teacher and friend tied for second; the middle group also most often chose mother with friend a close second and the oldest group chose friend most often with mother second.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Eight year olds chose "friend" first in 3 of the 16 situations; eleven year olds chose "friend" first in 4 out of 16 situations and fourteen year olds chose "friend" first in 10 of 16 situations.

Insert Table 3 about here

An ANOVA of target selection by gender and age showed that "mother" as a target was significantly higher for 14 year olds with no significant difference between 8 and 11 year olds, $F = 9.01$, $p < .0003$. There was also a significant effect for gender, $F = 8.23$, $p < .005$, as females chose "mother" more often than males.

There was no significant effect for age or gender with "father" as target.

"Friend" as target was significant by age, $F = 14.82$, $p < .0001$, but not by gender. As age levels increased, choice of friend also significantly increased.

The target "no one" was significant by gender, $F = 6$, $p < .01$, but not by age. In the oldest group, males chose "no one" three times as much as females while in the youngest group there were no sex differences. However, the youngest children did choose "no one" as their first choice in four of the situations while no other age group

chose "no one" as their first choice in any situation. The four situations when many 8 year olds would talk to "no one" dealt with shoplifting, death of a grandparent, having a "crush" on someone of the opposite sex, and a child being hit by a parent.

The targets "teacher", "counselor" and "other" were not significantly different over all situations by gender or age. There was however a strong trend toward significance for "other" by age as eleven year olds chose this target almost twice as much as the two other age groups. Some eleven year olds' choices mentioned for "other" as target were "priest", "brothers and sisters", and "the school principal."

When the two most frequently chosen targets "mother" and "friend" were compared over age and gender there was not a significant difference between them. There was a significant difference between "mother" and "father" however; "mother" was chosen as a target by all ages more than father, $\underline{T} = 4.57$, $\underline{p} < .0001$.

The general results of the subjects' self-report on the value of sharing problems with others, although not analyzed, were as follows: 8 year olds said that they saw a value in sharing on some occasions but not all, citing reasons of embarrassment or fear of punishment; the 11 year olds felt it is good to talk about problems except when it lessened their autonomy, such as the problem of career choice; and the 14 year olds seemed to value sharing the most - depending on

the closeness of the relationship with the target person and providing it didn't break the "teenage code" of "not telling on a friend."

Discussion

The major finding of this study was that patterns of self-disclosure do change with age. The first hypothesis: that adolescents are less willing to self-disclose was not confirmed. Instead, there was an increase with age in the number of people chosen as targets for self-disclosure. This was a function of both a striking reticence on the part of the 8 year olds to discuss problems involving hurt or embarrassment and an eagerness on the part of the 14 year olds to gather advice from trusted confidantes. The only factor mentioned by the 14 year olds that might limit the rewards of self-disclosure was the "teenage code". As one 14 year old commented, "That's a kind of law with teenagers - that you don't tell the other kids' parents if it's something you shouldn't tell them - you don't tell anybody."

Eleven year olds also felt that talking about problems was beneficial. They said "If you keep it to yourself, you'll have that problem always"..."It's good to talk about problems 'cause you have it on your conscience"..."Depending on the problem, sometimes you can't concentrate, or it makes you hurt."

However, when asked about who to go to about a career choice, a strong sense of autonomy surfaced with some: "I'd talk to myself because

it's my choice"..."I'd tell my friend because my parents might force me to be something I didn't want to be."

Eight year olds were not as convinced of the benefits of self-disclosure as the other two groups: "Sometimes you can get into a lot of trouble if you talk to people."..."Stealing is too private to talk about - because the person you tell might call the police"... "I wouldn't tell anybody about a runaway. I wouldn't 'snitch.' I get snitched on a lot. My little sister snitches on me a lot." As Maxine Wolfe's research (1978) suggests, their reluctance to self-disclose in certain situations perhaps reflects their emerging autonomy. It also reflected the seriousness with which they viewed the situation and it's possible consequences as well as their lack of experience with close friendships.

Another interesting characteristic of the 8 year olds was that they would blurt out confidences to the researchers during casual conversation, displaying what Chelune (1980) would call lack of "self-disclosure flexibility." He has defined this variable as a learned skill which allows the person to select the appropriate time and circumstances for self-disclosure. As Piche, Rubin, and Michlin (1978) have concluded: "It seems certain that development of such interpersonal communicative skills is closely linked to development of more general social-perceptual abilities...There is an increased ability to act on social-perceptual attributes characterizing

different target listeners."

That children self-disclose more as they get older was evident; who they disclose to was a function not only of age and gender but of the nature of the situation and the nature of the personal relationship with the target person. Representative of many of the 14 year old replies was : "Who you talk to depends on the nature of the relationship"..."If a kid is close to her mother, she would be good to talk to, but friends mostly have the same concerns"..."I have lots of friends who drink and ask me what to do about it...Nowadays with drugs or alcohol, a lot of girls always go to their friends." The second hypothesis: that adolescents will most likely confide in peers rather than a parent was confirmed. The first choice for confidante in 10 of the 16 situations was "friend," the second was "mother". - "Most teenagers find it easier to talk to their mothers because they see them more and can persuade them easier than their father." In general, the data confirmed Musser, Conger and Kagan's (1974) assertion that:

> "Adolescents are more dependent than young children upon peer relationships simply because ties with parents become progressively looser as greater independence from parents is achieved...Parents may have difficulty in under-

> standing and sharing the problems of adolescents even though they may make an effort to do so...yet the adolescent needs, perhaps more than at any other time in his life, to be able to share his strong and often confusing emotions, his doubts, and his dreams...Adolescence is often a time of intense loneliness ...having one or more close friends may make a great difference in the life of the adolescent."

The third hypothesis: that children of 8 and 11 years will be more likely to self-disclose to a parent than a peer was not confirmed. While "mother" was most often chosen by 8 year olds (Mean 3.3 per situation), with friend and teacher (Mean 2.9) tied for second, for 11 year olds "mother" and "friend" were almost equal target choices. (Mean 4.9, 4.5). As Snock and Rothblum (1979) found, perceived parental affection is a strong correlate of self-disclosure: "I'm closest to my Mother cause she keeps secrets good" (11 year old). However, as Wolfe (1978) points out, the distance children travel away from the home increases with age, with dramatic differences between children younger than 8 and those older than 8. Thus, the 8 and 11 year olds did look to

other adults and friends in addition to their parents. In this particular Catholic school, depending on the problem, the teacher, the counselor and the priest were often confidantes. Comments from 11 year olds included: "Grownups know a lot about things like relationships"... "The priest is our connection with God". An 8 year old said: "The counselor here is a very good friend of mine...She came into class ...I didn't know what a counselor was...I keep going to her...The counselor is really a great person to talk to."

In regard to 11 year olds increased confidences in friends, this finding supports Sullivan's (1953) thesis that preadolescents seek and develop intimate exchanges with a friend while still remaining close to their families.

Finally, the fourth hypothesis: that gender would make a difference in the amount of targets chosen for self-disclosure was confirmed. The data supported the assertion by Wolfe (1978) that males are being socialized to be less verbal than females. Little of the research on gender differences has focused on children (Altman, 1975) and further studies of these patterns would be helpful. However, subsequent research in this area should study a more diverse population. The present sample was extremely selective - all of the children were from private middle-class Catholic schools - and the generalizability of the results is limited.

Was the behavioral measure used in this study a good measure of self-disclosure? Recognizing that its validity and reliability have yet

to be assessed, it certainly was adequate in the present study for the following reasors:

1. In our opinion, the measure allowed for the widest range of self-disclosure behavior. Cooperating with the interviewers and choosing a target for each situation did not demand self-disclosure but afforded an ample opportunity for self-disclosure if the subject was so inclined.

2. The assumption of the measure, that what the subject said their friend would do was most likely what they would do, appeared to be valid. Many of the subjects made the statement, "Well, this is what I would do in the situation," and the rest implied it by their answers.

3. Finally, all of the subjects accepted the situations as representative of their world. None of the situations were rejected, ridiculed or misunderstood. Many of the adolescents volunteered to participate in any further studies about self-disclosure and said that they had enjoyed the interview a great deal.

The study did then demonstrate an increasing tendency to self-disclose in children as they get older. It pinpointed the need for further research on the developmental patterns of self-disclosure. It also reflected the patterns of cognitive and social development in that 8 year olds most often focused on the situations concretely, on what was happening and what were the consequences attached;

the 11 year olds most often focused on who to talk to - thinking up many more possibilities for confidantes in the "other" category - reflecting the expansion of their social world. The 14 year olds, more verbally facile and problem-oriented, responded more globally to the interview as a vehicle to express their feelings and concerns. As one 14 year old said, "You've got to look at all the possibilities...You've got to see all the situations." They would typically be more formal operational in thought, and discuss the pros and cons of their target choices and implications even beyond the situations as presented.

If they were experiencing the adolescent egocentrism that Elkind (1967) speaks of, it was not evident in this study. What they were saying was they thought it was very important to self-disclose and that they needed trustworthy, empathic listeners. If this is the case, the implications for parents, teachers and counselors are obvious.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Frequency of self-disclosure according to target person

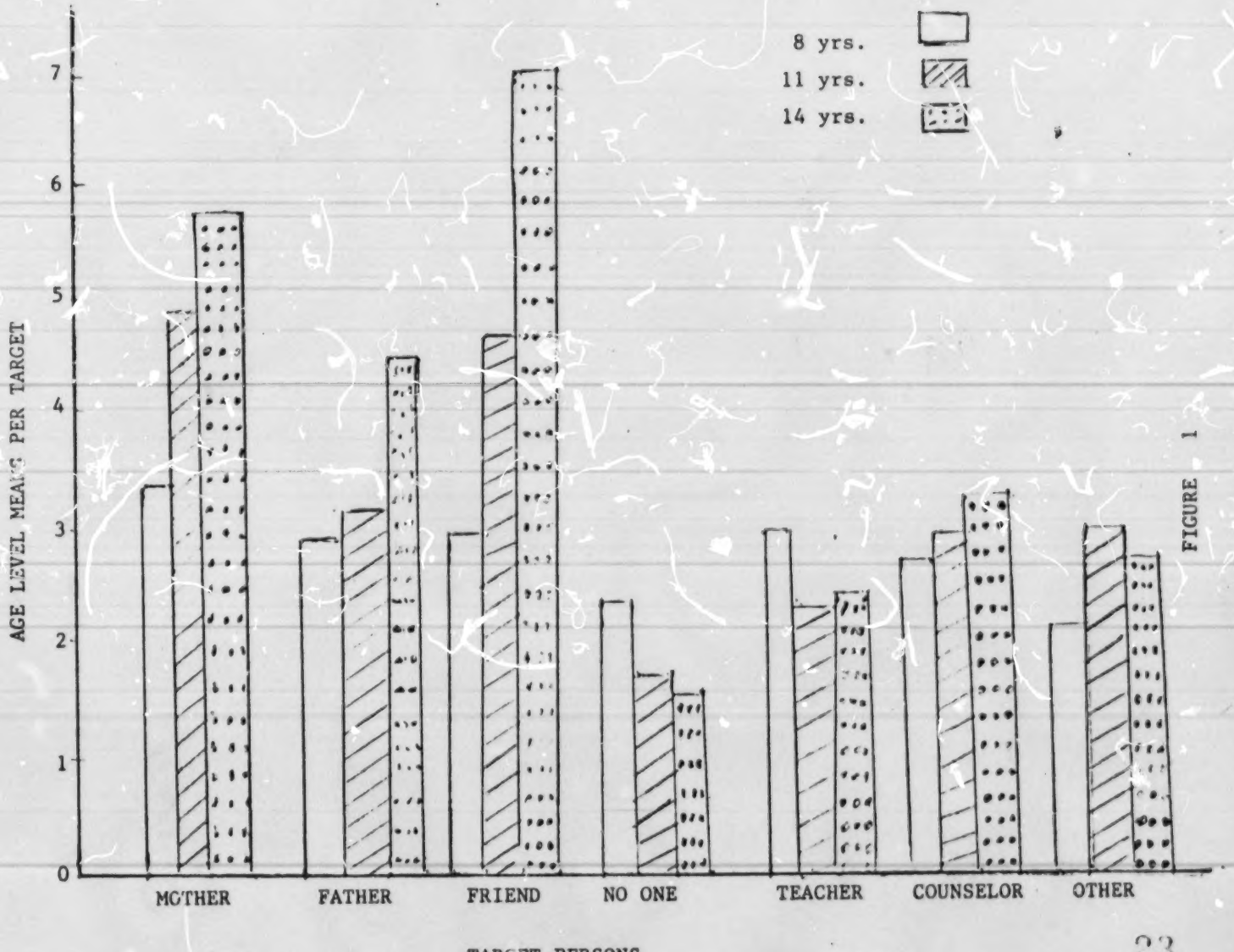
8 yrs.
11 yrs.
14 yrs.
AGE LEVEL MEANS PER TARGET
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
MOTHER
FATHER
FRIEND
NO ONE
TEACHER
COUNSELOR
OTHER
TARGET PERSONS

FIGURE 1

Table 1

Frequency of Self-Disclosure to Target Person According to Age

	Mother	Father	Friend	No One	Teacher	Counselor	Other	
8 yr.	80	64	71	53	71	62	48	449
11 yr.	118	82	110	37	59	71	72	549
14 yr.	141	106	168	32	60	80	58	645
	339	252	349	122	190	213	178	

Age Level Totals minus "no one" divided by number of Situations (16) x Subjects (24):

8 yr.: 449 - 53 = 396 ÷ 384 = 1.0 = mean # of choices per situation

11 yr.: 549 - 37 = 512 ÷ 384 = 1.3 = mean # of choices per situation

14 yr.: 645 - 32 = 613 ÷ 384 = 1.6 = mean # of choices per situation

Table 2

Frequency of Self-Disclosure to Target Person According to Sex

	Mother	Father	Friend	No One	Teacher	Counselor	Other	
Male	144	137	167	76	93	106	91	814
Female	195	115	182	46	97	107	87	829
	339	252	349	122	190	213	178	

Total - "No One" = Total Choices

Male: 814 - 76 = 738

Female: 829 - 46 = 783

Table 3

Total Number of Times a Target Was First Choice over 16 Situations by Age

Age	8		11		14	
	Teacher	(5)	Mother	(4)	Friend	(10)
	No One	(4)	Friend	(4)	Mother	(3)
	Mother	(3)	Other	(3)	Counselor	(1)
	Counselor	(3)	Counselor	(3)	Teacher	(1)
	Friend	(3)	Father	(1)	Other	(1)
	Father	(2)	Teacher	(1)		
		20*		16		16

* This column adds up to 20 because there was a tie for first choice in 4 situations.

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APPENDIX

SELF-DISCLOSURE MEASURE

Situations: 16; Home: 4; School: 4; Relationships: 4; Society: 4.

PROCEDURE:

Each subject is interviewed for approximately 45 minutes. Three practice situations and sixteen test situations are presented to each subject. Seven target cards will be displayed in an obvious manner during the interview. The target persons chosen for self-disclosure in each situation will be recorded in order of choice.

PRACTICE SITUATIONS:

Interviewer: "I am interested in knowing about boys and girls of your age. I would like to know who they talk to most often in different situations. For instance, if a friend of yours needed to talk over a problem he/she were having at school, he/she would probably talk to his mother, his father, his teacher, his guidance counselor, one of his friends, or maybe no one. I am interested in knowing who you think he/she would be most likely to talk to in that situation.

Now, I am going to describe some situations and I would like you to tell me who, if anyone, a boy/girl your age would talk to about them. If you think your friend would in fact not tell anyone at all, please let me know that."

1. Your friend went to a scary movie and can't get the scary parts out of his/her head. He/she would talk to....

   MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

2. If your friend didn't like the way his/her hair were cut, she/he would ask whose advice?

   MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

3. Your friend's parents are very very strict. Even in the summer he/she has to be in early. He/she would talk this over with...

   MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

TEST SITUATIONS:

1. Your friend gets lonely a lot and would love to have a pet - especially a dog. The rule of the house is "no pets". He/she would talk to... (home)

   MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

2. A teacher punishes the whole class because a few persons were talking. Your friend is innocent. She/he would complain to ...(school)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

3. A friend of yours stole something from a store on the Mall. She/he didn't get caught but she/he felt very guilty about it and was very worried. She/he would talk it over with...(society)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

4. Your friend would like some advice about how to talk to boys/girls. She/he goes to...(relationships)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

5. If a mean kid were pushing your friend around on the school bus a lot, your friend would tell...(school)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

6. Your friend has a crush on a boy/girl. She/he would tell...(relationships)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

7. The parents of a friend of yours are getting divorced, and this friend is feeling confused and upset. He/she would most likely discuss these feelings with...(home)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

8. This friend of yours is not sure that he knows all the "facts of life." If, for instance, he/she wanted to know more about sex, he/she would ask...(society)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

9. Your friend was very close to his/her grandmother. One day in class the teacher tells him/her that she has just died. Your friend is terribly sad. He/she will talk to...(relationships)

MOTHER FATHER NO ONE FRIEND TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

10. One of the kids at your bus stop drinks booze all the time. Your friend thinks this boy/girl is hurting himself/herself. Who would your friend talk to about this...(society)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

11. Your friend's brother/sister is a real brain and does very well in school without working very hard. Your friend is jealous. Who would he/she talk to...(school)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

12. One of the girls/boys in your class is planning on running away from home. She/he tells your friend and nobody else about this plan. Your friend would discuss this with...(home)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

13. If your friend was wondering what he/she wanted to do for a career - or a job - when he/she got out of school - he/she would talk to ... (society)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

14. If your friend had some questions about God, he/she would talk to... (relationships)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

15. Your friend gets hit a lot by his/her mother or father. Your friend is probably going to talk to...(home)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

16. Your friend thinks that his/her teacher is always picking on him/her for no reason at all. Your friend would talk to...(school)

MOTHER FATHER FRIEND NO ONE TEACHER COUNSELOR OTHER

(After the children indicate a target person , they are encouraged to explain their choice and discuss the situation for as long as they wish.)